UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Ethiopia!

By John Haynes Holmes

Anglo-Italian Rivalry in Africa and the Orient

By Taraknath Das

Thirty-One Days to the Pacific; Eighteen Hours Back to the Atlantic

By Jean Conklin

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

A Personal Appeal to Our U. S. A. Friends

(War Resisters International)

With the rapidly growing repression of war resistance activities in European countries and the increasing difficulty of our Sections there to keep their movements financed, it follows that more and more of the War Resisters' International's income is being raised in England. We regret this necessity, for with an International Movement we should have an International Treasury. For this reason, also because we are facing a critical time in the history of our Movement and do not want to miss the opportunities before us, we are now especially appealing to our U. S. A. friends to help us.

We cannot write to you all separately; but will you look upon this appeal as addressed to you personally, particularly because we know of your interest in our work?

Millions would agree not to fight if it could be done by agreement, but conferences have failed. The only thing to be done is to set an example. That example is being set courageously by young men in our Movement in many parts of the world. The International is able to give them tremendous moral support; and they ask for nothing more. But those who so courageously refuse to take up the sword are often the breadwinners and those they leave behind have a claim upon us. It is for them, and to enable us to stand as one solid Movement throughout the world, to bring a sense of friendship and solidarity to the far-off lonely little groups, or isolated boys who are in the forefront of this struggle, that we ask your help.

We venture to give you a few pictures.

Germany

One of our German young friends has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for editing and circulating pacifist pamphlets. Associated with him were many working men who have also been arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment up to

(*Continued on Page* 39)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXVI MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1935 No. 2

Ethiopia!

The case against Italy in the Ethiopian crisis is unanswerable. The indictment presents at least three counts which are sustained by the conscience of mankind:

(1) A great European nation, rich, resourceful, redoubtable in every weapon of modern warfare, has deliberately provoked assault upon a smaller people, independent, but undeveloped, inadequately armed, and thus inevitably weak. Like a bully, Italy is attacking a self-respecting but more or less helpless neighbor; like a bandit, she is falling upon a victim unawares, and robbing him of money and perhaps of life. To gaze upon Mussolini, with his bloated and brutal face, haranguing innocent youngsters whom he has conscripted into armies to fight bloody battles from which he himself will be safely removed, is to see the prize gangster of our day putting civilization "on the spot." Il Duce talks of Caesar and his empire, has he forgotten that the ancient Roman fought in the front ranks with his legions, and thus himself met the risks of his adventures? It is Mussolini's personal cowardice, but poorly covered with his melodramatic braggadocio, which lends the final touch of disgust to his performance.

In her assault upon Ethiopia, it will not serve Italy to point out that she is doing only what other imperial powers, modern as well as ancient, have done before her. One would have to seek far and observe closely to find an international rape quite as beastly as this in Abyssinian Africa. But suppose every page of every history recorded crimes of this description! A murder today is not justified by the innumerable murders which have preceded it. Furthermore, in this contemporary era, we have been organizing the world for the belated application of civilized standards of existence to international relationships, and Italy at one stroke, for her own selfish advantage, would take us back to days of savagery.

Nor can Italy defend her cause by declaring that the Abyssinians are an uncivilized people, a tribe of savages devoted to the practice of war and slavery, an obstacle to the progress of the world's advance. Ethiopia has her own culture, and it may not be as lovely as European culture. But in the case of Italy, it may well be doubtful if Mussolini is more civilized than Haile Selassie, or the Fascist hordes less barbarous than African tribes. If slavery flourishes in Addis Ababa, it is at least more honest and we believe less cruel than the political slavery which disgraces Rome. And if the Abyssinians wage war, it is with weapons less terrible than those which now equip every European state, and in this particular case it is in resistance to a war brought against them by invaders who seek to conquer their territory and destroy their freedom. The crimes of Abyssinia, as compared with the crimes of Italy, are as primitive as the arms they raise to defend their native land. In the grand assize of history, it will be Italians and not Ethiopians who will be recorded and thus remembered as among the barbarians of this age.

(2) Italy, in her attack on Abyssinia, is breaking promises, bound by every solemn pledge of honor, to preserve the peace and order of the world. One wonders, when one hears so much talk of "national honor," what this phrase means on the lips of the statesmen who use it. Surely not what honor means in the case of individuals who value character more than money, position, power, or life itself. Since the end of the Great War, Italy has bound her good faith, as a nation, to at least three great contracts, or covenants. First, she is a member of the League of Nations. Secondly, she is associated with the World Court. Thirdly, she is a signatory of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. In each and every one of these cases, Italy has agreed to abandon war as an instrument for the settlement of disputes between nations; or at least not to turn to war until, in the case of the League and the Court, every means of peaceful settlement has been exhausted, and until, in the case of the Pact, the exigency of war has been clearly shown to be an act of defense against aggression. In her attack upon Abyssinia, Italy has acted as though these media of peace did not exist, or, worse, as though she had never given her pledge to their support. She makes "a scrap of paper" of her plighted word, on the eve not of a life-and-death struggle for national survival, but of a free-booting expedition for land and gold.

It is with infinite difficulty, and at heavy cost, that our western world has built up its still imperfect bulwarks against war. In the midst of confusions, turmoils, terrors, and innumerable disasters, Europe has struggled hard to make paths out of the wilderness of violence into the plains of ordered peace. Nation has pledged faith with nation in this common task. Ethiopia sits side by side with Italy in the League as co-partner in this labor for a safe and decent world. And now Italy breaks faith! She has no cause of complaint against Abyssinia, not easily heard and answered. But she wants plunder that her arms can bring her, and thus looses pirate ships upon the deep.

(3) Italy, in quest of her own repugnant ends, is bringing danger to the world. She is carrying her war not only into Africa, but also, perhaps, into every continent and island of the globe. She is lighting a torch which, kindling a bonfire for her own amusement, may light a conflagration which will consume the city of mankind. Like the assassinations at Sarajevo, in other words, the Fascist assassination of Ethiopia, may precipitate a second world war which will devour us all.

This, we believe, is Italy's crowning offense. Her attack upon Ethiopia is bad enough in itself. History has recorded nothing worse since the days of the Assyrians and Babylonians. But infinitely more terrible is her attack upon Europe, America, the world. We are all her victims in this act of wanton violence. No one of us is safe now that this nation has run amuck. Italy is brandishing her sword against mankind. Her Duce is the enemy of the race.

J. Ramsay MacDonald has called this movement the most fateful since the dark days of July, 1914. What is Britain going to do? What answer will the League of Nations give to this defiance? The statesmanship of the world is at last bankrupt if it finds not means of preserving peace.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

We are glad that Congress, before it adjourned, passed the neutrality resolution, and wish that this resolution might have been much stronger than it was. But it is well for us not to fool ourselves about this business of our getting into the next war or staying out. Neutrality resolutions are not going to decide the issue. Congress, despite all its exclusive power to declare war, will not in the end determine the nation's policy. If Italy forces the Abyssinian war, and if this war precipitates a European war, and if the European war develops into a world war, and if the world war comes in due course to touch the interests of the United States, then all initiative and all responsibility are going to pass into the hands of one man, and that man is Franklin Delano Roosevelt. This is not according to any constitutional provision; it is not the consequence of any particular economic or political causes. It is simply history and custom and human psychology at work in public affairs, that's all. The example of President Wilson in the Great War is all we need to remember. As long as he was minded to keep us out of the European struggle, we kept out. When he was persuaded to change his mind not by German outrages but by persistent and at last triumphant Allied pressure, we plunged in. One man weighed the balances, and in the end tipped them on the side of Mars. The same situation will inhere in the next war, and the same power thus rest in the hands of the Chief Executive. Mr. Roosevelt will keep us out or take us in, as he himself may decide. Which means—and this is the point of our editorial!—that it is high time we placed responsibility for these events! Mussolini is to blame for this Ethiopian crisis. Upon his head rest the blood which will be shed on both sides of the battle front, and the curses of those who will themselves die or have their loved ones die! Woodrow Wilson took America into the World War. Let him be judged for the 70,000 killed and the more than twice as many wounded and maimed by his decision! And if, or when, we go into the next war, let the crime rest where it belongs—upon the head of the President—Roosevelt or his successor—who issues the decree of blood!

We count it a blessed event that the Social Credit League of Alberta, Canada, won the recent sensational election in that province—especially as we do not ourselves live in Alberta! For at last, in a perfectly definite way, without any "ifs" or "buts" of any kind, we are now going to see a practical try-out of one of these crazy currency schemes for the solution of our economic ills. The Social Credit League is an illegitimate child of the Douglas Social Credit Plan. It is headed in Alberta by William Aberhart, seventy-five-year-old high school principal and head of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute. This man seems to be a kind of curious combination, on a small scale, of Major Douglas, Father Coughlin, Senator Long, and Dr. Townsend. His scheme is as simple as it is charming—namely, the printing of paper money, known in this case as "credit dividends," this money to be distributed and used for the purchase of goods or services in the community. The sum of $25 a month, as a starter, is to be given to citizens, with due allowances for children. Only those who refuse to work are to be denied this bounty. As the plan develops, the monthly payments are expected to increase—in true inflationary style! Expenditures for these credit allowances are to be met by taxes, just as all government expenditures have to be met by taxes, though most people, including high officials in Washington as well as Alberta, don't like to have this mentioned. This perfectly delightful fantasy is now going to be tried out, as we have said, and this we

regard as a priceless boon. These currency schemes usually never get beyond the stage of imagination, there to bewitch impressionable and naive people with the idea that the vast problems of our complex economic life can all be solved just by juggling money, or tokens, or credits. The absurdity of such ideas, of course, is pitiful, but we seldom get a chance to prove it. Now the Prophetic Bible leader and his Social Credit Leaguers in Canada are going to prove it for us. Watch Alberta, and ask for reports about two years hence!

It is difficult for us to express with any degree of moderation the disgust that we have felt over the unseemly exchange of notes between Washington and Moscow. The original Bullitt vote, dictated, of course, by the White House, was as dishonest a piece of politics as we have ever known. Just as Roosevelt's tax measure was nothing in the world but a deliberate attempt to cut the ground from under Huey Long's "Share-the-Wealth" program, so this protest to Moscow was obviously an attempt to make the administration solid with the conservative forces of the country which of late have been showing dangerous signs of hostility. It is one more illustration of the President's persistent propensity for veering first left and then right. But playing politics of this sort at home is one thing, and playing this sort of politics abroad, especially at this moment of widespread international disturbance, is quite another. A break with Russia at this time helps nobody in the world except Japan to the east and Germany to the west. Hitler and the Mikado did the chuckling while this exchange of amenities went on. If Mr. Roosevelt had only had some excuse for his action, he might have been forgiven! But does the President expect anybody to take seriously, as a ground of diplomatic action, the boastful speeches of a few Communistic agitators in Moscow? If the administration really wants to get excited about foreign propaganda, and protest against it, why doesn't it turn its gaze from Moscow to Berlin, and see what the Nazis are doing, here as elsewhere? The one alien movement of formidable proportions in this country, directly aided and fomented by a foreign government, is that of the Swastika. Why doesn't Mr. Roosevelt send a note or two to Herr Hitler? But perhaps Mr. Roosevelt is not disturbed by Fascism, or Nazism. Perhaps this type of dictatorship has a warm feeling which makes him feel at home.

The King of Belgium was traveling 55 miles an hour when his automobile left the road in Switzerland and killed his Queen without an instant's warning. The late Mrs. Ickes' chauffeur was driving his Ford car, according to one of the surviving occupants, at more than 65 miles an hour. Our automobile problem today —a problem of sickening horror and alarm—is wholly a problem of *speed*. The machines are as perfect as human care and ingenuity can make them—their failures in either materials or workmanship are so few as to be insignificant. Our roads are marvels of engineering skill, laid out with every imaginable consideration of safety. But still the accidents pile up. The finer the machines, the better the roads, the worse the slaughter! What is happening is that improved equipment and conditions of travel are increasing speed, and speed is proving to be the fatal element in the situation. Granted that everything is done that can be done to secure safety on our highways, there still remains a liability of mischance—the irreducible minimum of accident or error. So long as we are human, something is bound to go wrong once in so often. But a speed of 50, 60, 70 miles an hour does not allow for such an occasional and inevitable hazard. Such speed means that the car is not under control within the time and space allowed by the unforeseen and unforeseeable contingencies of life and death—and so it is death and not life that wins! Until we learn this fact, and discipline ourselves or lock our cars to the point where they are always under control, no matter what happens, we are going to keep right on slaughtering our own loved ones, and the loved ones of other people. Is the game worth the candle? Are we all crazy on this subject of speed? Would the world stop spinning and life become not worth the living, if we set our ordinary maximum automobile speed at 30 miles? Read the *Readers Digest's* sensational article, "And Sudden Death," and think it over!

It was fitting that Henri Barbusse should have died in Moscow, for all his later years were devoted to Communism. But he will be remembered little for his political activities as compared with his literary achievements. He gained his fame and bade for immortality as the author of *"Le Feu,"* published in 1916, at the very height of the War. There have been many war books since this first masterpiece. The latest of them all, "Paths of Glory," by Humphrey Cobb, is perhaps nearer to Barbusse's work in character and power than any of the others. But *"Le Feu"* still holds, and we believe will ever hold, its primacy. As it was the first, so it remains the greatest, of all the imaginative studies of the Great War. The book was based, of course, upon reality—Barbusse's own experience as a soldier of France! But it was shot through and through with such vision and beauty, such grandeur of conception and idealism, that it took its place at once as one of the great epics of all time. We think of it as we think of Dante's "Divine Comedy," as a work of almost incredible range and splendor. Who that has read it can ever forget the closing chapters describing the little group of French soldiers, lost in the sea of mud on the western battlefront, discoursing of war and peace? It

is not surprising that *"Le Feu"* made such a sensation. Not only was it a book of cosmic proportions and power, but it was the first of all the revelations of what war is today in this modern machine age. It was only when we had read Barbusse that we really understood the meaning of front-line trenches, and "no man's land," and "going over the top," and machine guns, and barrages, and Flanders mud, and disease, and death, and horror. Of course, France and the Allies had to suppress the book, but it lived, and will ever live. It was inevitable, after the War, that Barbusse should become a leader in the anti-war movement. His *"Clarté"* was a powerful propaganda treatise for peace, but it was not literature, and never took rank with *"Le Feu."* To the end Barbusse's passion was for a war-less world. This was his appeal on his visit to this country a year or so ago, when we saw and met him. A great spirit has found its rest!

Production for Use

This is the slogan of a new movement which may or may not go far. It may over-reach, and entangle itself hopelessly in a political web of its own weaving. On the other hand, it may catch the imagination of the dispossessed, and especially of the young and vigorous generation which most suffers from prevailing unemployment and industrial muddling, and may lead on to genuine and permanent rehabilitation.

This movement embodies the same principle which inheres in the so-called maintenance farming, and applies it to the whole range of industrial activity. Its first concern is to supply the utmost possible necessities and comforts and luxuries, and enrichment along every line, of the population immediately within reach, and only afterwards does it look to distant markets to dispose of surplus products and to acquire in return goods which that unit of population cannot itself produce.

From early colonial times two contrasting economic tendencies were marked in American society. One uniformly led on to prosperity and a distribution of the good things of life among all the members of the community. The other led on to the increasing opulence of a small proportion, and an artificial and snobbish culture among those few, while the larger proportion of the population suffered increasing deprivation and industrial bondage.

The former tendency was strong in New England and the latter in the south. After generations of development these two tendencies had come each to its proper flower in the contrasting society which prevailed in these two sections in the middle of the nineteenth century, at the opening of the Civil War.

On the showing at that date many believed that the south had the better of the contrast. The first families of that region enjoyed advantages which could not be matched elsewhere. They lived in palatial residences. The young people were given a superior education of a certain type. They traveled. They enjoyed leisure not alone for a great variety of sports and other pleasures, but when so disposed they were able to assume skilful leadership in politics, letters, and all lines of cultural progress.

The abject and outright chattel slavery of great masses of the population upon which all this charming social development rested was, however, an increasingly ugly fact. At first the institution was deplored even by those who most benefited from it. But as attempts were made to eradicate it and as the adjustments necessary to its eradication were faced, those who benefited found all manner of justification for the institution, even calling in the clergy to demonstrate its divine ordination.

On the other hand, New England society had developed along radically different lines. There all possible types of industrial activity were promoted, and all members of the community were drawn into participation. All shared in the resulting prosperity. Contrasts of culture and of economic opulence were much less marked than in the south.

Advantages of natural resources were greatly with the south. The dependence upon agriculture as a source of wealth, which was universal in the south, was impossible in New England. That bleak and rugged shore line, with its equally rugged and wooded hinterland, compelled resort to a great variety of devices in gaining a subsistence.

These limitations themselves cultivated a resourcefulness which the population of the south conspicuously lacked. Yankee ingenuity became proverbial the country through and the world around. The typical New England village of 300 maintained an astonishing variety of industries, all meant primarily to enrich the life of the people immediately involved. From any one community only a trickle of surplus products flowed out into national and foreign commerce. But trickles combined into a flood which eventually far surpassed in volume and in value the massive commerce of the opulent south. And in New England society chattel slavery could not gain a permanent foothold. Persistent attempts were made to establish it there, but it simply did not belong and could not be crowded in.

Take your choice. Which society has the better right to endure? Which won in the irrepressible conflict? One was an embodiment of the principle of production for use, and the other was a system of exploitation which eventually damned the exploiters along with the exploited.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

Anglo-Italian Rivalry in Africa and the Orient

I

If one tears off the mask of hypocrisy exhibited by British statesmen, it becomes evident that the so-called Italo-Abyssinian crisis is nothing but an expression of Anglo-Italian rivalry in Africa, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. To understand this truism, one should remember that the British government on various occasions, to secure Italian support in world politics, agreed to the establishment of Italian supremacy in Abyssinia. When the British adopted a pro-Italian attitude they were afraid of a Franco-Russian alliance against Britain and also the rise of Germany challenging British world supremacy. Furthermore, British statesmen felt that Italy at that time was not prepared to establish a protectorate over Abyssinia; and Britain's hands were full with the problems of establishing her supremacy in Egypt and its Sudan and ousting the Germans from Africa.

The wrath of British statesmen against Italy and Signor Mussolini is unbounded at the present time, because Italy has stolen a march over the British in taking effective steps towards annexing Abyssinia, which the British themselves wished to do by their characteristic method of slow and careful penetration. British statesmen acknowledge openly the fact that they do not want to have that part of Abyssinia adjoining Sudan, which holds the head waters of the Nile, under Italian control. It is quite conceivable that the British would have established their supremacy in that part of Abyssinia either by a treaty, or through a punitive expedition, as they did in the Sudan, in Burma, in Tibet, in South Africa, and in other parts of the world.

Italy is going to carry out her plan of annexing Abyssinia, in spite of British opposition, because of the present situation in world politics. The present Anglo-Italian rivalry in Africa, Britain's war-like demonstrations against Italy, and Italy's defiance to John Bull, have the same significance as the Anglo-French rivalry years ago in North Africa, culminating in the famous Fashoda incident, when France had to back down before British might.

It is needless to say that the present situation of world politics, and Italy's diplomatic position and understandings with other powers of Europe, place Signor Mussolini in an unassailable position. Because of the fear of Germany under Hitler, France has come to a close understanding with Italy, to such an extent that France is supporting Italy fully in her annexationist policy in Africa. France has adopted this policy to check any possibility of a German-Italian understanding against her. France has nothing to lose by Italian expansion in Africa; but she has much to gain, because expansion in Africa would naturally prevent Italy, at least for sometime, in making any move which might be dangerous to Yugo-Slavia, one of the important members of the Little Entente, allies of France. France has induced Russia to support Italy; and some people even think that there is very close understanding between Signor Mussolini and Stalin, that Russia would not find Italian forces joining hands with the Nazis against the Red Army.

II

The European situation is certainly favorable to Signor Mussolini; but one must not forget that in the past European conflicts have been decided through the pressure of extra-European factors of importance. For instance, the World War was decided in favor of the Entente Allies through the extra-European forces of the United States of America, Japan, India, and China. Fortunately, for Italy, there is no possibility, in spite of every effort on the part of British statesmen and propagandists, that the United States will invoke the Kellogg Pact against Italy, at least until the end of the 1936 election. In fact the neutrality legislation recently passed by the U. S. Congress, is a notice to Great Britain that the United States will not side with her in the Anglo-Italian dispute on the Abyssinian issue. It is really a gentle retaliation on the part of the United States, which was abandoned by Great Britain during the American-Japanese controversy on the Manchurian issue. This being the case the situation in the Orient has special significance in deciding the Anglo-Italian dispute in Africa.

III

In the Near East, the position of Turkey under Mustapha Kemal Pasha is important. It is to be expected that Turkey will not follow a policy which will be opposed by France, Russia, or any of the Balkan States. Thus, Turkey will not help Great Britain to intervene in Abyssinia. None should forget that the breaking up of the Ottoman Empire was brought about by the Arab Revolt engineered by the British, and by British expeditions against Turkey supported by Indian troops. It was the British who used the Arabs and Indians to weaken Turkey; therefore Turkey will not willingly go to aid Britain against Italy. Furthermore, it is to the interest of Turkey to see that Italy expands in Africa and not in Asia Minor. Lastly, Anglo-Italian tension on the African question will be helpful to Turkey, which is working hard to strengthen her military and economic position. It is safe to assert that Signor Mussolini has nothing to fear from Mustapha Kemal, so long as Italy does not take any step endangering the vital interests of Turkey.

Britain is banking on the support of Egyptians and Sudanese, who would fight for her against Italy on the ground that Britain is championing the cause of independence of the only African state which is still free, and that Britain's effort to check Italian expansion in Abyssinia is to protect Egyptian and Sudanese interests in the waters of the Nile. However, it may also be expected that the Egyptian nationalists, in the event of an Anglo-Italian crisis, would demand that before they would agree to aid Britain, she should sign an agreement with Egypt which would really mean Egyptian independence. Britain may have to move British soldiers into Egypt to meet any possible difficulty in that country. British statesmen will have to give considerable thought to the question of surrendering to Egyptian demands to secure Egyptian support in an Anglo-Italian conflict.

In case of a conflict between Britain and Italy on the question of Abyssinia, the issue will be de-

cided by the support Britain might get from two Asian states, India and Japan. It is conceivable that Britain would not take the risk of sending a very large force from England to Africa, but will use Indian manpower, strategic position, and resources to their full advantage. It is not generally known that India supplied Britain with more than one million soldiers on the various fronts and contributed billions of dollars to her war-chest during the World War. This was possible in 1914 because Great Britain was supported by France, Italy, Russia, Japan and the United States and at that time the Indian nationalist movement was not as strong as it is today. During the World War Mahatma Gandhi acted as recruiting sergeant for the British and the allied cause. What would be his attitude in case of an Anglo-Italian conflict on the Abyssinian issue? Is it conceivable that the Mahatma and his followers would support the British, even on the ground of supporting the cause of the weak against the greed of the strong? Certainly, millions of Indians would see no benefit to themselves by fighting for Britain, whose dominions and colonies, especially those in Africa, ill-treat their fellow countrymen as undesirables. Thus India will be an important factor in any conflict in which Britain may be involved in any part of the world.

With the increasing rivalry between Britain and Japan in world commerce, in the field of political influence and naval power in the Far East, it is not likely that Britain would ever enter into any struggle in Africa or any other part of the world, without coming to an understanding with Japan. Lately there has been some ill-feeling between Japan and Italy, owing to commercial rivalry in Africa and the Near East, but there is no real reason for a permanent Italo-Japanese misunderstanding. It would be in the British interest if Japan took the side of Abyssinia. But Japanese statesmen are wise enough to inquire what they would get in return for their helping Britain against Italy. Will Britain recognize Japanese supremacy in Manchuria? Will Britain recognize Japanese right for parity in naval power? Japan, knowing that her position is being strengthened by the present Anglo-Italian tension, has intimated in response to British invitation to the arms conference, that she insists upon equality in arms. Signor Mussolini, it has been reported, has agreed to support Japan in her demands for arms equality. Japan entered the World War on the side of Great Britain and her allies, simply because by doing so, she expected to consolidate her position in the Far East. Japan will follow the same policy now and afterwards. It is expected that Japan's demands for arms equality will be rejected by Britain, and thus that Japan will take an independent stand on the Anglo-Italian dispute. This will help the Italian cause and weaken British position in the Far East.

Great Britain, unless supported by other powers, may not take the risk of going into a war with Italy. In this matter support of India as well as Japan will become decisive factors. Under the circumstances, it is quite possible that the Anglo-Italian dispute may be amicably settled, owing to the fact that Britain may not wish to force the issue. Whatever may be the outcome of the present Anglo-Italian dispute, it is certain that its reflex will result in strengthening Japan's position as a world power, and will give new consciousness to the people of the Orient, specially those of India, regarding their position in world politics. Some thirty-five years ago the people of the Orient were regarded as mere pawns in the game of world politics and world domination by the western powers; but it is becoming more and more evident that these people will become determining factors in the solution of international problems today and in the future.

TARAKNATH DAS.*

*Dr. Das is a distinguished authority on world politics. In reading his discussion of the Abyssinian situation, it may be well to remember that the Serbian-Austrian dispute in 1914 was at bottom determined by the imperialistic rivalries of Britain, Germany and Russia. In a letter accompanying this article Dr. Das writes: "It is needless to say I am opposed to war against Abyssinia."—Editor.

Institute of Human Relations

This is in no sense a report or a resume of what occurred at the highly stimulating—yes—intensely exciting—conference of Jews, Catholics and Protestants held at Williamstown during the last week in August. It is rather a mere refraction from a ray of incidence.

Perhaps the most vivid impression retained is that of great wisdom and knowledge shot through by passionate urgencies toward triumphant accomplishment. The classic form, the classic mind, the classic temper seemed embodied in the rare personality of our American professor at Oxford, England. Calm, poise, brilliancy, turned the much belabored, utterly elusive, wholly undefinable subject of history into a profound and penetrating philosophy of life. One went from his lectures more thoughtful, more reflective and with wider vision. Also, too, one must confess with a glow of pride that in this hour of chaotic upsurgings Anglo-American culture could maintain a perfect equilibrium at such a height.

Over against this inimitable calm and arresting dignity one must put the vivid, dynamic force incarcerated in the alluring representative from Mexico. The Popocatepetl of the Institute. No classicism here—a fixed determination, with back resolutely to the West, to reject forever all "cheap imitations of European culture." And, one felt there was implicit here a firm intention to trust solely to a resurgence of an ancient culture the vibrations of which still maintain—a culture with a spiritual affinity for the soil that carries with it perhaps a more certain promise of permanence than does our Western possession of endless utilitarian gadgets. These latter, much vaunted treasures, may in the long run prove a poor substitute for either lost or unattained spiritual values. It may have been some such consciousness that engendered the wave of sympathetic enthusiasm that followed the Mexican's passionate justification of an accomplished revolution.

There were other voices of tragic intensity but

all were projected upon a background of undefeatable goodwill—goodwill in the kindly hearts of Jewish rabbis—goodwill and peace-provoking humor in the hearts of Jesuit priests—goodwill in the hearts of our (sometimes too-complacent) protestant clergy.

Every day in all departments of the conference one felt currents moving toward a basic unity. In spite of sharp differences and passionate emotions it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that the hundreds who attended the conference left it enriched by the experience it had provided. It broke through the immediate, the shallow, the peripheral, in a noble effort to reach the deeper source of mutual understanding.—The Abiding.

FLORA WHITE.

Thirty-One Days to the Pacific; Eighteen Hours Back to the Atlantic

I have taken a trip to California—and returned by airplane! Traveling westward from New York in leisurely, care-free manner, untrammeled by any prearranged schedule, either as to time or place, I journeyed through the South Atlantic States, making at least one stop-over in each, and touring Florida for two weeks; then through the Gulf States, followed by New Mexico and Arizona, and ending with California. I spent two months in that State, passing from San Diego in the south along the coast to Calistoga fifty miles north of San Francisco, and then south through the interior, visiting Yosemite National Park and returning to Los Angeles, the center from which many side trips were made.

Crowded as were those three months with novel incidents, many interesting human contacts, and enlightening information as to the nature of the country in which I had sojourned (the characteristics and extent of the desert land of the United States were a great surprise) the most thrilling and unforgettable event remained to be experienced in my homeward trip. In sharp contrast to the deliberate manner in which I had wended my circuitous way during thirty-one days from New York City to San Diego, I was shot back from the Pacific to the Atlantic in eighteen hours.

My decision to return by airplane had been secretly formed before leaving New York, and was responsible for the above outlined economy program which my slender purse necessitated, if I were to carry out this much-desired plan of flight.

Of the many daily transcontinental flights made by three air lines, only one plane makes a detour from the direct course between cities in order to fly over the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. As I was most desirous to see this marvelous creation of nature I chose accordingly the plane of the T W A (Lindbergh) Line, which leaves Los Angeles at 9 A. M. It is due in Newark the next morning at six o'clock (Eastern time), thus passing from "sea to shining sea" in eighteen hours, which includes some two hours consumed in the transfer of passengers to and from the plane at eight intermediate landings. Sixteen hours is therefore the actual flying time over an approximate distance of 2,700 miles as the bee flies. Another advantage of this flight is that the daylight half is over the most interesting part of the country.

On the morning of April first (wondering if this adventure would turn out to be a fool's risk) I boarded the "Sky Queen" which rose at the scheduled moment into the uniformly gray sky extending along the coast. In a few seconds, not only the small group of well-wishers waving *bon voyage* to the eight passengers and two pilots aboard, but also all other objects on land and sea were hidden beneath the clouds. Five minutes more and we were out in the sunshine above the gray blanket covering the earth. I think I shall never again look upon a gray sky, smooth as seen from the earth, without recalling the picture presented that morning by the top side of that somber sheet of condensed moisture. From horizon to horizon in every direction that upper surface appeared as a rough plain of snowy prominences glistening in the sunlight, their shapes being well defined in contrast to their shadows on the lower portions—the whole looking solid enough to walk on.

In less than a quarter of an hour the clouds were left behind and the really solid earth flashed into view. We were passing over desert land, which for a few weeks at this time of year, following the rainy season, is a sight never to be forgotten. The delicate annuals which in great variety spring from the desert floor, blossom, scatter seed and die in a week or two, could not be separately distinguished from our elevation, but in mass added their transient, exquisite coloring to the permanent yellow, brown, henna, pink, blue and purple of the sands and rugged mountains, spurs of the Sierra Nevada Range, rising here and there above the desert plain. Sage bushes and flowering cactus plants (there are said to be about 275 varieties of the latter) could, however, be distinctly and separately seen. I think acquaintance with the desert in bloom as seen from the ground, should be supplemented by a view from the air, for while the former affords delightful intimate acquaintance with the beauty and vast variety of its flowering plants, the latter presents a kaleidoscopic panorama in form and color of such magnificence that it will forever be a delight to recall the picture thus impressed upon the mind.

About an hour out from Los Angeles a chilliness in the cabin (which heretofore had been maintained at a comfortable temperature) was explained by the co-pilot as due to our altitude of 14,000 feet, required in flying over the mountains at that point. He said the thermometer at that time recorded an outside temperature of —10 degrees. I certainly found the steamer rug in the rack above my seat a welcome addition to the winter coat I was wearing. At this elevation a slight headache began to develop, but was relieved by using the chewing gum supplied by the attendant. This trivial discomfort lasted for a very short time and was the only one occurring during the entire trip.

About 10:45 (Pacific time) the co-pilot (who frequently passed back and forth between the pilot and passenger cabins) announced that in five minutes we would fly along the southern edge of the Grand Canyon, and advised preparing our cameras for snapshots during the fifteen minutes required to skirt the gorge for fifty miles, our speed at the

time being 195 miles per hour. The grandeur of that bird's-eye view of this incomparable product of nature's skill in color and sculpture beggars description. We were only 2,000 feet above the top of the Canyon (itself 7,000 feet above sea level) and thus near enough to distinguish the windows in the hotel on the opposite side of the gorge. Impressive as was this brief comprehensive view of the Canyon, I believe that its wonders can be apprehended fully only through the close, leisurely acquaintance with its details and varied aspects presented to the visitor who spends days exploring its length, breadth and depth.

It was a surprise and more or less of a shock after this thrilling sight to be brought back to earth (figuratively, of course) by the entrance of the co-pilot carrying aluminum trays, which he proceeded to fasten across the arms of each passenger's chair, announcing it was time for lunch. "At eleven o'clock?" I asked. "Oh, we are now keeping Mountain time, so it is noon," was his reply.

Obediently turning the hands of my watch forward an hour I proceeded to examine the interior of a cardboard box placed on my tray. Its contents were enclosed in cellophane bags and paraffined containers and consisted of fruit cocktail, hot chicken soup, two kinds of sandwiches, cold roast chicken, olives, celery, a nest of three cups, the smallest containing cream, the next for coffee (served hot a little later), the third for water; loaf sugar, cake and an apple. Considering that I had breakfasted only three hours earlier (eight o'clock Pacific time) I did remarkable justice to that good meal. After placing all refuse in the boxes they were collected, and later I saw them, unopened, thrown into a barrel at our first landing place—Albuquerque. I regretted the waste of that fine California apple which I had been unable to eat.

Exceptionally good flying weather had enabled us to reach Albuquerque half an hour before schedule time (i. e. at 2 instead of 2:30 P. M.). All landing fields are two miles, or farther, from their respective cities, so even this additional half hour on land gave no opportunity to see the town; but after four continuous hours in the air it was pleasant to walk about in the vicinity of the airport for three-quarters of an hour.

The plane made in all nine take-offs and landings during the trip. Both changes were accomplished so smoothly that they soon became as commonplace and unexciting as the acts of sitting down and rising from a chair. I may say here that the plane held an absolutely even keel throughout the trip, kept thus by the automatic stabilizer. About half a dozen times there was a slight tremor, similar to that experienced when an automobile passes over an irregularity in the road. Such vibrations are called "bumps" and occur when the plane encounters a marked change in air density. Other than this the motion was smoother and steadier than that of a train on a straight track of best construction. When, however, I asked the pilot if I could judge flying in general by the conditions we met on this trip he replied, "No, we have had exceptionally good flying weather today."

As to noise, I would say it resembled in the passenger cabin, that of an elevated train with closed windows, conversation being easily possible. In the pilot's cabin, which I visited to examine the instrument board, the noise was quite equal to that in a subway tunnel, and one had to shout to be heard. That instrument board, by the way, is a marvel of scientific accomplishment. Some of its indications are as follows: Speed, altitude, number of propeller revolutions per minute (ours reached 1,800), temperature in both cabins and outside, also of the gasoline and oil with record of the quantities of each, any slightest change in direction in three space dimensions—and others which I have forgotten.

While the "gyropilot" automatically guides the plane in a straight course, the pilot equipped with head phones sits watching the indicators, and every half hour sends out by means of a short-wave radio transmitter situated over his head, a report to the land station ahead, receiving in return such data as to weather conditions, etc., as will enable him to make a safe landing.

It was interesting to watch the large wheel of the landing gear emerge from its concealed position behind the engine on close approach to the ground, and its withdrawal from sight as soon as the plane cleared the ground on rising. Another fascinating observation was the watching of the plane's shadow on the earth beneath—small and apparently slow moving when we were at a high altitude, growing larger and swifter in motion as we approached the ground. These changes furnished a means for gauging roughly the plane's elevation at any moment.

Passing over the southern spurs of the Rocky Mountains we next landed at Amarillo, Texas, in reality less than two hours after leaving Albuquerque, although the clock time indicated 2¾ hours as we set the hands forward another hour to correspond to Central time kept at Amarillo.

From this point the scenery changed from the desert and mountainous type to that of the farm lands of the Middle West. As we flew over Oklahoma and Kansas we could see the farms marked out with geometrical exactness in squares and oblongs, suggesting the blocks of a patchwork quilt not only in form but also in variety of color, such as the green of early wheat, the brown of freshly ploughed land, etc. The farm-house and cluster of farm buildings in each square, with an occasional automobile creeping along a road, made one think of children's toy villages.

All this was only dimly visible, partly because of the dust laden atmosphere below us—though this was an interim between two severe dust storms—and later because of the approaching twilight, as the sun set for the earth beneath us about ten minutes before it disappeared from our position in the air. After it finally sank below our horizon, its rays traversing that dusty atmosphere produced one of the most beautiful sunsets I have ever seen.

Judging by the clock (but not according to my appetite) it was now time for another meal, which could not be postponed because we were soon to change planes at Kansas City and no meals were to be served on the night plane. Unable to eat even half of the delicious supper provided and resenting the idea of wasting the unconsumed food I asked and obtained permission to retain my lunch box, and very glad was I later for the inspiration to do this. During the wakeful night I found its con-

tents most acceptable. I would like to remark here that the courteous and watchful attention to the passengers' comfort and wishes, on the part of the co-pilots of both day and night planes, could not have been excelled.

The night flying was a scarcely less fascinating experience than that which preceded it. Although the backs of our comfortable chairs could be lowered to admit of a reclining position, and most of the passengers apparently found it easy to sleep a good part of the time, I could not do so, partly on account of our frequent landings (they were less than two hours apart) but chiefly because of my interest in this (for me) unique experience.

Cloudy weather appeared to prevail over most of the route traveled, but we rode above the mist, and it being the dark of the moon, the stars and planets (Venus, Mars, Jupiter) were on display at their brightest. As only nine of the fourteen seats were occupied I could move from one side of the plane to the other at will, and thus view both the southern and northern half of the celestial dome.

One phenomenon which caught my attention as soon as it became absolutely dark, was the appearance of stars several degrees below the horizontal level at which we were flying. I was actually looking over the edge of the earth and could see many stars below the range of sight from the viewpoint of the earth beneath. This effect of altitude is called by astronomers the "dip of the horizon," and its angular amount can be noted with instruments of precision from the hurricane deck of a steamer, say fifty feet above the sea. At several thousand feet above sea level this effect was so pronounced to the unaided eye as to be startling. Throughout the night I watched with unflagging interest the rising of the brilliant summer constellations of Scorpio and Sagittarius immeshed in the densest portion of the Milky Way, which I have never seen to better advantage.

The landings during the night (at St. Louis, Indianapolis, Columbus and Pittsburgh) were all attended by the following circumstances: As the plane entered the misty lower atmosphere the starry panorama was obliterated as though by a curtain drawn swiftly across the sky stage from east to west. For a few minutes following we were enveloped in a mist (which a primeval nebula might have resembled) and from which both earth and sky were apparently excluded, and then with equal suddenness the glittering star-like lights of the city appeared beneath us, accompanied by the brilliant sun-glare of the searchlight from the landing field. Ten minutes later, on taking off, the phenomena occurred in the reverse order—a rapid disappearance of the earth, momentary existence in space devoid of external objects, then a swift rolling back of the curtain and the "heavenly hosts" shone once more in all their glory. The repetition of this panorama detracted nothing from the thrilling delight felt each time it was witnessed.

Having seen the sun disappear behind me in crimson splendor a few hours before, I now looked forward eagerly to an equally beautiful sunrise ahead, for there would be just time to see it from the air before landing in Newark at six A. M. (Eastern time).

As the pale blue light of dawn appeared I discerned that a sheet of clouds covered the earth—more mountainous and tempestuous than the one we had left on the Pacific coast the day before. The crests of these cloud masses were tossing in the wind, sending out sheets of spray, and were separated by vast gorges into whose depths it was rather terrifying to gaze.

Before the moment appointed by nature for the sun to appear above our horizon we plunged into this turbulent mass of seething moisture, and my hope of seeing sunrise from the air was doomed, on this occasion, to disappointment. Presently we emerged below the clouds and touched solid earth at the Newark airport at 6:10 A. M., only ten minutes after schedule time on a journey of 2,700 miles.

An hour and a half later in my home in the Bronx, as I spoke of what I did "yesterday morning in Los Angeles," the whole experience took on the aspect of a fairy tale, and the trip across the great continent of North America shrunk to the dimensions of a holiday excursion.

How much more will the whole world shrink when a plane travelling in the stratosphere one thousand miles an hour encircles the globe in something approaching the same interval of time!

JEAN CONKLIN.

Understanding Heart

My heart was heavy with the weight of years,
For it was bowed by reason of my tears;
My people crept in shadow by the wall
Beyond the sun, which seemed to shine for all.
"Oh why are they cast down," I sadly cried,
"In segregation, where are none beside?"
A voice spoke softly from the empty space—
"You are the children of a priestly race
Who first brought knowledge of the one true God,
And ever since have felt the burning rod."
"Have all my people suffered equally?"
"Yes, even Christ, the Man of Gallilee,
A loyal Jew who preached the Godly word
So valiantly that every heart was stirred."
"And would they shun Him were He here today?"
"Doubtless they would, for that has been their way."
How vain the knowledge language can impart,
When God but asks an understanding heart.

FREDA HAMMERS.

At Last

With sceptic mien the hungry, ragged thrall
Of a system glutted with war and crime
Explodes the resurrection of a time
That hangs departed far beyond recall.
The seers whose crystal is the orb of greed
Recite depleted twaddle frayed with use
And offer tit-bits of hope instead of goose
With which to fill the stomachs griped by need.

They call for patience while they plot and scheme
On how to slaughter youths at so much per
And drill starvation as war's harbinger,
Thus to prolong the tottering regime.
But vainly do they plan, the die is cast,
Their mastership is dangling by a thread,
The mass won't take their steel in place of bread,
The sons of toil are reasoning at last.

JACK GREENBERG.

Holding Companies and Utilities

One of the sensations in the daily press recently was the Congressional contest waged over the passage of the utility holding company bill, known as the Wheeler-Rayburn Bill. The question is so saturated with the legal point of view that its general aspects have been neglected. Also, the newspapers have taken for granted so much technical knowledge on the part of the average reader on this problem that reading a news report on utilities is about as decipherable as reading the stock market sheet and as digestible as a heavy book of economics.

What is a utility? What is a holding company? What is the distinction between the two? These are interesting but difficult questions to answer. But if we can consider this subject in clear, simple and understandable language, then I believe the time spent will be not only interesting but profitable.

Way back in 1863 a small carrier who perhaps was some peddler pushing his cart from London to Lymington in England, refused to carry goods for a customer though he was offered his regular fee. The customer sued him in court on the ground that being engaged in a public calling of transporting goods he had no discretion to refuse to carry any one's goods when offered the price for the service. A judgment was obtained by the plaintiff against the small carrier, the defendant, in spite of the fact that no contract had been made and no contract had been breached, but simply on the theory that when one is engaged in the business of carrying goods, he is engaged in a public business and cannot refuse to render service when offered his hire. This is an actual case decided in 1863.

The principle of this early case has been extended to all carriers, whether railroads, steamships, automobile or air, and to all public service corporations such as light, gas and power, and in fact to all businesses which by their nature may be held to be affected with a public interest.

When is a business so affected with a public interest that it is within the legitimate province of the government to subject it to regulation, has been one of the most contested matters of litigation ever since the enactment of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Fourteenth Amendment enacted shortly after the Civil War says that no person can be deprived of his property without due process of law. Whenever a State Legislature would enact a law to regulate the management of any private business immediately our brother lawyers would raise the hew and cry that it is taking property without due process of law and if important enough carry the case to the United States Supreme Court to have it stand the test of the Fourteenth Amendment in the Constitution.

The Fourteenth Amendment has been the reef on which more laws were sunk on the ground of unconstitutionality, than any other thing in the Federal Constitution. It was on this ground that practically the entire New Deal program was challenged and what the Supreme Court will decide only the Lord or Mr. Richberg could tell.

For example in the famous Tyson & Son case the Supreme Court held that a theatre ticket agency may not be regulated by law in the price to be charged for theatre tickets, because it would be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. On the other hand in Block vs. Hirsh it held that a law denying the right of a landlord to evict a tenant under certain conditions in the emergency, is not in violation of the due process clause. A law regulating the charges of insurance companies was held by the Supreme Court not in violation of the Constitution, but a law passed by the State of New Jersey to regulate the charges of employment agencies was held unconstitutional. A law prescribing employers' liability for compensation to workmen was held to be constitutional, but a law prescribing a system of pensions for railroad employes was recently held in violation of the Constitution.

Now when it comes to public utilities there is no longer any question as to the constitutionality or lack of constitutionality of state regulation. That is the distinction between a public utility and a private business. A private business the government has no authority to interfere with except in conformity with the Constitution. A public utility the state has the unquestioned right to regulate without "constitutionality" being an issue.

The reason being, that a utility renders service which in most instances is not competitive, the service rendered constitutes a public necessity, and the utility exists by reason of a special franchise which gives it almost a monopoly. A utility, in other words, is a public service corporation engaged in business of serving the public with transportation, water, gas, electricity and similarly necessary service.

A holding company is a company that owns the stock of a public utility.

The remarkable growth in the public demand for the services rendered by these utilities has made their growth nothing less than phenomenal. Take for example the electric service industry. In 1902 the industry's revenue was $84,000,000. In 1912 it was $287,000,000. In 1922 it was $1,020,000,000 and in 1932 it was $1,832,000,000.

Each public utility is subject to the regulation of the state public service commission in which it operates. Every state in the Union has its public service commission and the authority of these public service commissions has of late been rigidly extended by legislation over these public utilities. When it comes, however, to holding companies the State commissions have difficulty to exercise control for these holding companies are in many instances corporations operating outside of the state limits, and, furthermore, the jurisdiction of the State Public Service Commission extends only to the physical property of the utility and the holding company not owning the physical property, but merely the stock of the utility has been held in law to be beyond the jurisdiction of the State commissions.

The matter of utility stock inflation has been one of the most severely criticized financial evils. It has been the result largely of pyramiding issues of stock upon issues of stock, and the creation

of a chain of holding companies, extending like a spider web over the country. A great many of these holding companies toppled over with the depression. A great many others are still operating, and not merely holding companies of the first instance, but in many cases holding companies to the fourth and the fifth degree.

Take an illustration cited by Senator Norris. The Cumberland County Power and Light Co. of Portland, Maine, is owned by the New England Public Service Co., which is owned by the Middle West Utilities Co., of Delaware, which is owned by the Corporation Security Co., and the Insull Utilities Co.

Out in Oregon you will find a little company known as Yawhill Electric Co. It belongs to the Portland General Electric Corporation. But the Portland Company belongs to the Pacific Northwest Public Service Co. Here is the parent organization apparently. But this is not the end of the maze. The Portland Public Utility Company belongs to the Central Public Service Corporation which owns various other holding companies from Maine to Oregon.

The holding companies are not engaged in the ownership or operation of any plant. They do not own any tangible property of the service corporation. They render no immediate service to the public. They merely own the issue of stock and in turn issue their own stocks and bonds. In the process of this trading and manipulation fabulous fortunes have been reaped by those on the inside and lost in the crash by the investing public.

The proponents of the Wheeler-Rayburn bill contend that the evils of pyramiding holding companies can only be eradicated by abolishing all holding companies except holding companies of the first instance. They contend that holding companies are rendering no service to the public. That at best the holding companies are only investment stabilizers and as investment trusts they could be permitted to continue under the proposed law by obtaining the consent of the Securities Commission.

Congress has taught that the law was too drastic and amended it, placing the matter of life and death of holding companies in the discretion of the Securities Exchange Commission.

So to get back to our subject, we see that the Supreme Court is adamant in its interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, allowing little Constitutional latitude to Congress to deal with new problems as they arise. In spite of that we see the President and Congress are proceeding headlong with legislation as if no such constitutional difficulties existed. Will this force a revision of the Constitution at some future time, widening the powers of the legislative branch of the government; or will in the near future a new amendment to the Constitution be adopted, is an interesting question to be answered not only by lawyers but by the vast public.

ISIDORE A. BLANCH.

International Courtesy

In a recent society column of the London *Telegraph* we read of American hospitality: "It makes British visitors gasp for breath, since they are almost killed by kindness, entertained to distraction." This generous statement confirms what I have often observed. Many English people who have not been to America are disposed to be critical about us—sometimes rightly so. Those who have visited our shores generally retain a kindly feeling toward their trans-Atlantic neighbors. When we are in their rock-ribbed island they are quite apt to reciprocate socially, even though their attentions may only consist of inviting us to the sacred ritual of afternoon tea.

Not long ago I was conversing with a lady who, with her husband, a well-known United States army officer, had been quartered with the American troops in the Rhenish city of Coblenz after the Great War. She spoke of the unaffected courtesy extended to them by all classes of the German population, the efforts to assist them as to household or other matters, in every possible way. Her experience caused her to understand the human side of the national character. Newspapers and politicians continued to whip up animostiy against the then late enemies of the United States, but the hospitality of the German people disarmed any prejudices she may previously have had regarding them.

Early in the year 1926 I for a few weeks was at the Tivoli Hotel, Panama. The Atlantic and Pacific fleets were in for winter maneuvers. I was told there were seventeen admirals present. There were a host of officers and their ladies who had come from the north to participate in the gaieties of the season. On the balcony of the hotel there often sat a man of unquestioned Teutonic features—a merchant from Ecuador—with his daughter and her husband. No one spoke to them. So I made advances and found them to be cultured people, with fine ideals and broad sympathies. After returning home this gentleman sent me some Ecuadorian sticks as a contribution to a collection of canes from many parts of the world. The simplest form of civility is appreciated by lonely people everywhere; even a walking stick may become the modest token of international gratitude and friendship.

In a city of a million people within the British Empire, years after the Great War, I addressed the Rotary Club. Two days in advance I called on the president; an eminent titled and business gentleman. After presenting my introductions—including those from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America—he exclaimed: "You will find a great deal of ill-will toward America in this country." I responded: "I know it, and part of my work is to endeavor to allay that feeling." He continued: "I have recently returned from the United States and everywhere was treated with the utmost hospitality. On my return I was promised the sale of 10,000 copies if I would write a book against America. I could not do it after all the courtesies I had received. I told them I could not think of such a thing!" Here was a man of wide influence who possibly could have made money, and certainly could have secured much credit for a dubious sort of patriotism, by stimulating an unfavorable attitude toward the United States. American personal courtesy had been an American defense.

It is true that the United States needs friends today. Every sincere gesture of reciprocal friendliness strengthens our world position as to economic and political security. Three times I have been to Australia, once during the Great War; many people of that sunny land have not loved us. A few days ago I received a letter from

an Australian correspondent recounting his recent voyage from San Francisco to Sydney. This letter told of the numerous high church officials on the ship, from New Zealand and Australia. All were returning from or through the United States, all were appreciative of the reception and courtesies they had received at our hands. The expression of this feeling was particularly noticeable at the seasons of divine worship held on board. Certainly a great change has recently been wrought; mutual visitations between the two countries have contributed to this end. When we know that the dominions and commonwealths of the Empire since the Great War have demanded and obtained increased influence and recognition from the London government, the importance to both England and America of "colonial" friendships may be understood by all.

In the year 1885 the American ship "Cashmere" was wrecked on the northern coast of Japan. The inhabitants of two small villages rescued, fed and clothed the distressed mariners and started them on their way to Tokyo. In 1888 the United States Congress appropriated $5,000 as a gift to the kindly fisher folk. The money was invested and since that time children of the two little communities have been at least partly educated with the income derived from that source. Those friendly Japanese possessed a humane political philosophy which, if followed by politicians and statesmen, would save humanity from unnumbered tragedies and woes.

During the Civil War of the seventeenth century between the Roundheads and King Charles I, of England, the Bavarian Prince Rupert went to England to fight on behalf of the Royalists. During the conflict his falconer and falcons were by chance taken by the Earl of Essex of the rebel party. That chivalrous nobleman gracefully returned them to him. This courtly act and the welcome accorded him by Royalists and Roundheads alike, when Charles II came to the throne, decided Rupert to become an Englishman. He added renown to his adopted country by his contributions to its arts and sciences, was a famous tennis player and ultimately given a resting place in Westminster Abbey, among her illustrious dead. Surely all this was better than to have ostracized him as an unforgiven foe.

Let us practice the delightful gift of hospitality toward the foreigner within our gates. It represents the essence of patriotism. Let us remember that international courtesy may be like unto a shining highway leading to the portals of peace.

WILLIAM C. ALLEN.

The Study Table

Is the Soul Immortal?

Many years ago, as the older readers of UNITY may remember, R. Heber Newton, Rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York, preached an Easter sermon in which he threw doubt on the resurrection "appearances" in the gospel narratives. For your reviewer this was the beginning of a gradual disintegration of belief, not only in the physical resurrection, but in the whole supernatural overshadowing of the Christian tradition. The book under review* has gone the *coup de grace.*

In his previous book entitled "The Issues of Immortality," Dr. Lamont said that a more thoroughgoing treatment of the subject of immortality should be made by someone. He has himself taken up his own challenge. It is hard to see how anything more thorough in its sweep, its reverence (with a touch of humor) its fairness, its depth of insight into the emotional and humanly appealing aspects of death and its tragedies than is this book of Dr. Lamont's.

In the first chapter the importance of the subject is stressed. Many other events confront every man. But the one future fact to which all the living must and do look forward is death. Hence, so fundamental and so universal is the longing for some kind of future existence that the author maintains with convincing documentation that even the belief in God is maintained largely because God alone can guarantee immortality. In giving his definition of immortality Dr. Lamont makes it clear that he does not mean any of the somewhat cloudy, though beautiful concepts like those of George Eliot's "The Choir Invisible," but is confining himself definitely to the survival after death of the individual personality. He straightway goes on to state what he considers the Fundamental Issue. It is the one raised by the question of the relationship which exists between the soul, or the mental, and the body or physical. "The essential point for the question of immortality is still how binding is the partnership between the personality which has ideas, however described, and its body." "This issue, which in essence is that of a monistic versus a dualistic psychology, is not, of course, the only important one involved in the study of death's meaning. But it seems to me the most crucial one of all." Holding that any conception of immortality involves some kind of body through which and by means of which the personality expresses itself and makes its contacts with its environment (for without an environment and relationship with it no personal existence is conceivable), a law is established as follows:

> If any idea of immortality is to be wholeheartedly believed and acted upon it must have emotional efficacy, imaginative reality and intellectual acceptability. . . . By emotional efficacy I mean the ability to awaken a deep emotional response, whether it be of fear, joy or moral approval. But emotional efficacy must depend on the second attribute of imaginative reality, since for most people the unimaginable cannot possess emotional power. Intellectual acceptability for the conception at issue implies a certain degree of consistency with those ideas which a man has accepted as true, whether they be ideas of common sense, of science, of philosophy, or of other branches of knowledge.

How this law has controlled in the various conceptions of immortality which have prevailed among different people and at different periods, is brought out in an historical review of the beliefs of ancient and primitive peoples. In all cases the demands of the emotions, the imagination, and the intelligence have been met by postulating some kind of body as a necessary equipment for the life after death.

The main argument of the book is an effort to show (1) that the body-mind combination is a single organism, and (2) that any attempt (a) to separate them in any possible hereafter is futile, and (b) that any kind of body that can possibly survive after death offends against the rule previously laid down for emotional efficacy, imaginative reality and intellectual acceptability. In developing the argument for the unity of the body-mind organism the chapter, "The Verdict of Science," seems to your reviewer to be quite unan-

*The Illusion of Immortality, by Corliss Lamont. Published by Putnam's, $3.

swerable. It is clear that in the order of evolutionary development the body is first, having been in existence possibly millions of years before anything corresponding to present day intelligence was reached. At each step along the way every manifestation of a higher order of thinking has been given its foundational possibility in a material development in the brain and nervous system. A similar intricate correspondence prevails in the development of traits of character. Differences in sex produce differences in qualities of personality. The most characteristic expression of personality is in the face. Friends are remembered more by their pictures than by almost anything else. Goodness, kindness, etc., are not easily distinguishable among different people. Faces and other bodily characteristics are unique in each person.

Startling in its magnitude and intricacy of operation is the central nervous system.

> Competent biologists judge that there are as many as 265,000,000,000,000 cells cooperating in almost perfect harmony in the normal life of a human organism.
>
> A single act of thought involves great multitudes of brain cells.
>
> The most extraordinary body section of all is the vast and labyrinthine network of nerve-cells that constitutes the brain and the rest of the nervous system.
>
> The important thing to observe is that the mind and personality develop and expand as the body develops and expands.

And so on through genes, chromosomes and hormones, to say nothing of the wonderful discoveries of the mysterious but potent influence of glands upon character and temperament. To quote again:

> And in view of these facts (many more than can be given here) the religious view that a soul, bearing the main determinants of personality, is created through a specific and separate act of God, created to fit each embryo as it enters the realm of existence becomes the most gratuitous of theories.

And again,

> The pattern of every human personality is so inextricably interwoven with sex characteristics that we are unable to imagine a sexless individual; even the gods have sex. And it is my opinion that a clear understanding of the realities of sex is almost sufficient of itself to establish the fact of an inseparable tie between body and personality.

Summing up the chapter on the verdict of science the author says:

> All in all, therefore, the results of science, coupled with our earlier analysis of various immortality ideas, set a very powerful case in support of our thesis that immortality is an illusion.

Closely following upon this deduction comes the one which closes the interesting chapter on "The Environment of Heaven." From the crude concepts of a resurrected body which must have an environment too much like the physical environment of the present life to make it intellectually acceptable, to the more highly spiritual quality of the surviving life held by the modernist immortalists, who nevertheless find themselves obliged to use a phraseology which all too closely connects them with physical concepts, including the necessity of durational time for growth, struggle, victory, all postulate a body through which the soul expresses itself, and through which it establishes its contact with an environment. Summing up this section our author says:

> For I submit that a careful analysis of the problem of a proper future-life environment, when conjoined with an analysis of the proposed future-life bodies and of the merits of the monistic psychology, makes belief in immortality today an intellectual anachronism.

The most interesting chapter of this book for modernist liberals is that entitled, "The Failure of Arguments." In the first section of the chapter the author pays his respects to the Spiritualists. There is nothing specially new here. The many detected frauds on the part of mediums, the as yet unexplored possibilities of telepathy, the unspeakable trivialities of the alleged communications, meeting the pathetic hopes and wishes of the survivors, all combine to create a healthy skepticism in all but a few of the devotees. Then follows a discussion of those aspects of belief in immortality which are based on the ethics of the situation. The goodness of God is at stake. If there is no immortality then God is not good. No good God would create a world like ours with its incompleteness and frustration, without at the same time providing an extension of existence, in which these imperfections might be made perfect. Or again, here is the human soul with its divine possibilities, the reputed end-purpose of all creation. There must be an immortality for such a creation, otherwise the whole purpose of the scheme would be frustrated. Or yet again, in the course of man's development certain values have emerged and been built into the very fabric of our civilization, passed on from one generation to another. All these will be irrevocably lost unless the souls of men are immortal. A variant of this argument is that values, or spiritual goods are self-existent, are reals, the Platonic ideas, and not merely names for qualities. Or, once more, as others put it, following John Fiske, immortality would seem to be a necessary and logical outcome of evolution. It is "the destiny of man viewed in the light of his origin." Still another much used argument derives from the claim that there must be immortality because mankind wants it so badly. Emerson has put it in his usual epigrammatic form when he says, "the blazing evidence of immortality is our dissatisfaction with any other solution." As to the last of these assumptions, it can easily be seen that it proves too much. One of the most necessary things to be learned is that life is full of frustrations; that many if not most of our wishes do not come true. Later we learn that it was better so. The various forms that the heaven of dreams and wishes have taken shows that the Mohammedan heaven would not have fulfilled the wishes of our Norse ancestors, just as their Valhalla would have been not at all acceptable to the Moslems.

As to the more serious of these modernist arguments Dr. Lamont maintains that all of them are more or less variants of the wish-fulfilment argument of Emerson. But still more damaging to their whole position is the fact that their argument moves in a circle. If one starts with the postulate of the goodness, or justice, or purpose of God, and argues from that to a belief in immortality he of necessity brings in as a basis of his argument that which lies beyond the range of human knowledge or scientific demonstration. Again if one says that the goodness of God is at stake unless there is immortality, he, too, starts with the very thing which must lie back of that which his argument is intended to prove. In short the entire supernatural structure which religion has raised postulates that which is used to bolster it up. This holds true also of those "values" which are to be saved by immortality. The whole platonic theory of the reality of ideas, goodness, beauty, truth, etc., proves too much. As Dr. Lamont points out, if goods, i.e., value, have reality in themselves, what of their opposites, badness, and other "evils"? Have they, too, an ontology all their own?

But there is a still greater fallacy that underlies much of the modern philosophy of immortalism. It is that a good and benevolent purpose is inherent in the whole structure of the cosmos. This assumption carries with it the idea of Providence, that "not one worm shall be destroyed," that "good shall be the final goal of ill." While one need not go so far as Thomas Hardy seems to do, postulate a malevolent force in the universe, he must admit that nature in its workings is thoroughly impartial. The rain falls and the sun shines on the evil and on the good. There is no coddling here. Human life, like all other life is a struggle against, as well as cooperation with, forces that know no brother. So to assume a benevolent, purposeful universe, with man as its glory and crown, a universe too good to destroy that which it has created, is likewise a wish-fulfilment, without any basis, at least in a logic which follows the obstinate "nastiness of the fact."

Dr. Lamont has a chapter entitled, "Motivation and Symbolism," in which he explores the reasons lying back of mankind's persistent longing for immortality. The author here shows his great sympathy with a humanity so incomplete, so frustrated as ours is, and how it is that mankind keeps hoping that "God's greatness flows around our incompleteness, round our restlessness his rest." He takes occasion to say in this chapter that not death, so much as premature, unnecessary, painful death is what makes men and women cry out against it. This gives him an opportunity for bringing out his well known deep interest in the social problems with which we are today confronted. Millions of children die unnecessarily. Millions of men and women, even in this most-favored nation, meet with the frustrations caused by poverty and ignorance. Health can be bought. Those who haven't the price meet death at the end of long, preventable illness. All these facts are shown in the book to be responsible for the clinging to belief in immortality. If men and women can be given adequate economic security, and if death can be postponed to a ripe age, a future life will have ceased to be so attractive as it is to multitudes of our fellows. And if the same energy, and devotion which have heretofore been expended toward saving men's souls in a hereafter, can be turned into channels which will lead to a finer social order, much can be done for removing the pangs of premature death, in so far at least as such death is due to economic conditions.

The last chapter in the book is entitled, "Life Without Immortality." It is a noble and eloquent utterance. Even if one were denied the privilege of reading the entire book he should not fail to read this closing chapter. The list of names of notable persons who have disbelieved in immortality is most impressive, and well-nigh convincing in itself. Three paragraphs are here presented as giving what are the most cogent of the author's statements in setting forth the splendid constructive ideals that may accompany downright disbelief in human immortality.

What these modern ways of life have in common is devotion to the this-worldly well-being of certain groups of men. The most enlightened of them, such as Humanism and Marxism put the happiness and progress of all humanity as their goal. This ultimate loyalty to the ultimate interest of all mankind, including one's own highest possibilities, is, I would suggest, a thing high enough and wide enough for any man to integrate his life around. As an incentive to the good life it is far more effective and noble than reliance on individual immortality and the philosophy that goes with it. Philosophies and religions of egoism and wish-fulfilment are pardonable and perhaps necessary in the childhood of the race, but mankind is growing up at last and can well afford to leave behind the attachments and symbols of immaturity.

To him then who sacrifices his life for an ideal and goes forever into the blank silences of oblivion, death can in no sense be a reward. And while some men surrender up their lives on behalf of their fellows, feeling sure of eternal bliss thereby, there are many others who do so in the full knowledge that death means their absolute end. No higher type of morality exists than to make one's life count in this fashion. There may come a time in the career of any man when to die will prove more effective for his central purposes than to live. Nothing more admirably brings out this point than the words of Bartholomew Vanzetti after a Massachusetts court had sentenced him and Nicola Sacco to death for a crime they did not commit: If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have died unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, of man's understanding of man, as now we do by accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

Finally, the knowledge that immortality is an illusion frees us from any sort of preoccupation with the subject of death. It makes death in a sense, unimportant. It liberates all our energy and time for the development and extension of the happy potentialities of this good earth. It engenders a hearty and grateful acceptance of the rich experiences attainable in human living amid an abundant nature. It is a knowledge that brings strength and depth and maturity, making possible a philosophy of life that is simple, understandable and inspiring. We do not ask to be born; and we do not ask to die. But born we are and die we must. We come into existence and we pass out of existence. And in neither does high-handed fate wait upon our ratification of its decree. But between that birth and death we can pass our lives, work for and enjoy the things that we hold dear. We can make our actions count, contribute our unique quality to the increasing human adventure. We can endow our days on earth with a scope and meaning that the finality of death cannot detract from or defeat.

JAMES A. FAIRLEY.

Philosophy

I place, within my choice philosophy,
The Universe, as the great candled cake,
Which God has lighted for His children's sake;
To count the cycles of immensity,
And, too, I add a high frivolity,
As fit reward, for those who sadly make
The stations of Life's cross, and take
Their shares of woe, while living radiantly.

There is no happiness like that, which soul
Enjoys, a fit return for consecration;
And after days of fertile abnegation,
One finds the here and now, sufficient goal;
And in the Spirit's life, is healed and whole,
With righteous mirth, a mark of real salvation.

EVELYN M. WATSON.

New Deal

Come, Millionaire, your glorious day has gone,
Unless by some faint chance your inner eye
Can visualize a new and better dawn
Envelop with its flame depression's sky.

Your hope lies in the brown and teeming soil,
Where seedlings grow that honest men have sown;
Their seamed and horny hands stained brown with toil
Have labored years on farms they used to own.

Dig down with your white hands in vaults of steel
Where lies the seed which you have hid away.
Lend it to aching hearts and you shall feel
The joy that comes with each returning day.

America is calling, Millionaire,
Dig down, and deep, and lay your coffers bare.

FLORENCE EAKMAN.

Correspondence

Taxation Policies

Editor of UNITY:

In the June 17 issue of UNITY your sprightly correspondent, Winifred Cossette, quotes Mayor McNair of Pittsburgh as favoring the repeal of all taxes except those on real estate, and the grading of these so that they would fall "entirely on land, leaving buildings exempt." This theory of taxation was advanced before many forms of monopoly had reached their present importance. I think most advocates of the single tax now use "land" in a generic sense to include all natural resources that are capable of being monopolized.

Even in this broader sense the "land" tax does not appeal to me as being a good policy. We can all agree that monoplies should be stiffly taxed so long as they are left in private hands. But to leave them in private hands and impose upon them confiscatory taxes (as most single taxers seems to advocate) would mean the crippling of industries on which we depend for the everyday necessaries of living, to say nothing of the injustice of confiscating the wealth of multitudes of innocent investors.

Even as a means of dealing with monopoly the land tax is not suited to all cases. How would it be applied to the milk trusts which Secretary Wallace declares have been robbing both producers and consumers in all our large cities? Likewise with the other food trusts.

If the final policy of the single tax advocates were merely to reduce drastically the income from monopoly, we still cannot see how this would bring a better distribution of wealth if other great incomes are to go untaxed. Bethlehem Steel during 13 years paid Eugene Grace an average bonus of $814,993 to enable him to eke out his salary of $156,000, yet Bethlehem holds no monopoly on ore deposits. What of the incomes of members of the Morgan group, or the $17,000,000 profit which the Federal Trade commission declares was realized by Henry L. Doherty in a stock-selling campaign? Or the $75,000,000 reported as gained by Percy Rockefeller through stock speculation in 1929? Or the $225,000,000 excess profits of the du Ponts in the four war years?

Such examples of great incomes that were not derived from monopoly are useful as a warning against the belief that the single tax will eliminate the evil of wealth concentration. Is it not a better policy to assume that all great incomes are in part unearned and should be reduced by taxation? Great incomes and great fortunes are made possible through the protection of organized society; hence society is entitled to its share without any quibbling over "earned" and "unearned" incomes.

As for the monopolized natural resources, is it not the sanest policy gradually to bring these under public ownership, with fair compensation to the owners? The wealth of these former owners can then be reduced by taxation without crippling necessary industries. Such a procedure is legitimate and feasible, since our laws already provide for it.

The land tax is a suitable means of reaching the incomes of absentee land owners, but its other advantages are questionable. As a further illustration, its adoption as a substitute for all other taxes would mean the elimination of all tariffs. I yield to no one in detestation of tariff robbery, but our industries are now posed on a framework of tariffs. To remove this framework will require time and caution and diplomacy in securing reciprocal agreements if we are to avoid the disruption of many industries and the wreckage of many wage scales. A house is better for being built on solid ground rather than stilts; but if it is already built on stilts, these cannot suddenly be knocked away without breakage.

Denver, Colo. F. S. KINDER.

UNITY Agrees!

Editor of UNITY:

In your issue of August 5, 1935, editorial—League of Nations report on world unemployment, you state "Since labor is not needed now to produce an output which machinery can easily handle." And again—"By the same token, how foolish to try to cure our economic ills by any strictly nationalistic policies or to hold out the hope that it can be done."

This is truly a pessimistic outlook and I think a mistaken observation. All reports that I have read or heard of agree that one country—Russia—has no unemployment and that industry there is very active at the very time when industry in the rest of the world is more or less paralyzed.

You cite Italy and Germany as being in "sore financial straits." I would ask what is the difference right now between conditions of industry in Italy or Germany and in Russia?

I will economize in words and state that from all information at my hand the difference is in production of goods. In Italy and likewise in Germany production is at low ebb, while in Russia production is going on at tremendous rate. I am comparing economic conditions. Social conditions are apart. Production in any country is affected principally by man made laws of that country.

In the case of the United States there is the greatest opportunity of remedying conditions by a nationalistic policy. We have all the necessary elements of production—natural resources, skilled labor, machinery and capital. We could realize the most optimistic dreams of any man by adopting a rational policy.

I feel safe in stating that you have never known any one who possessed all he or she desired of goods. There is an ever increasing demand for more by each and all of us. That is the reason for inventing machinery—to produce more.

The heart of the unemployment problem is production of goods. These idle people want goods and are willing to produce if allowed to do so.

What is the solution of the problem?

Remove any and all obstructions to production.

Property in natural resources is a special privilege.

Special privilege is the antithesis of social justice and does not accord with democratic institutions.

R. A. MUNRO.

Spokane, Washington

Collecting Taxes to Pay Tribute to the Money Changers

Editor of UNITY:

During the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1934, those of Uncle Sam's tax collections that most directly affected the common people were derived from the taxation of cigarettes, cigars, tobaccos, etc., beers, liquors and wines, playing cards, soft drinks, candy, matches,

tires and lubricating oils. On these items alone, the consuming public had to dig up and pay in taxes more than 756½ million dollars.

Where does all this money go to after it reaches the U. S. Treasury?

Well, during this same fiscal year, the tribute paid to the Money Changers under the guise of interest on U. S. Bonds amounted to $756,617,126.00. In other words Uncle Sam extracted 756 million dollars from the producing-consuming classes to turn over to the non-producing class,—the Money Changers.

Since June 30th 1917 this form of tribute to the Money Changers, has cost the men and women who toil, the stupendous sum of $13,550,000,000.

Had this same amount of money been used to build concrete roads, (costing $25,000 per mile), we could have built 175 Highways from the Atlantic to the Pacific (or one every nine miles apart from Canada to Mexico), and had enough money left over to build a dozen or so from the Great Lakes to the Gulf.

But such is not the will of the powers that be.

Under our present system we are continually adding billions to the wealth of the wealthy to be locked up in the vaults of the Money Changers where it becomes a curse to the nation, instead of a utility for public good.

May God help speed the day, when this and other nations of the earth will issue currency instead of interest bearing bonds, and thus release this tremendous interest saving to give employment, to a despaired citizenry, on useful and worthy public and private projects.

S. O. SANDERSON.

Rochester, Minn.

Henry George and Single Tax

Editor of UNITY:

In God's name, justice, truth and love can we not see some of the vital truths of political economy as taught by our latest prophet, Henry George, given space in your humanitarian publication, UNITY? I, with quite a bit of pleasure, put in some time at our public Library reading your August 5th number.

Even the Catholic Church has a number of branches of helpfulness and good intentions, but any society, any organization, big land owners as they are, are playing with a destructive evil. This is true of much that our President is doing—shielding his associates, the Astors, upholding the age old *land hogging system* that drives men to become tramps and often causes women to sell themselves.

So I pray you, along with your very fine precepts, please give us something bearing on *facts* as to what causes depressions and what *must* be done to effectively overcome them and stop their ever coming again *because of man's foolish laws.* It would be a fine thing could a reprint be made of Henry George's Fourth of July San Francisco oration made some fifty years ago. It would open the eyes of anybody honest in his desire for truth. The truth is mighty and will have its way. It is only a matter of time—and through *just* publication the cause can be mightily advanced.

Fairhope Alabama. EMIL KNIPS.

Thanks—and Good Counsel!

Editor of UNITY:

The Jane Addams Memorial Number was very fine. But Robert Whitaker's message on "Hero Worship" seems to me very timely and much needed. I hope many "liberals" took it to heart as I have done, and that they will at least sympathize with "the martyrs of today" if they cannot really "get into step with them" as Mr. Whitaker has done.

Why doesn't UNITY say more in its editorials about the injustice of the Criminal Syndicalism Laws, or about the way the trials of the labor organizers have been carried out? Why so little about the terrible conditions in Cuba? With such things in our own land it doesn't become us to criticize Italy or Germany!

I wish UNITY were more militant—but, as it is I couldn't get along without it.

Minneapolis, Minn. ELIZABETH C. BANKER.

"She Sleeps"

Editor of UNITY:

As I have only a few days to live, there is a strong urge in my heart to express myself about that "dangerous woman" from heaven.

That "dangerous woman" is not dead; she sleeps. Through the rainbow of the tears of thousands of minors and matured men and women passing by Hull House, they see the figure of an angel from heaven extending her hands to them and inviting them to sup with her around the international family table at Hull House.

I do not know whether or not anyone knows of this: When I was visiting at Hull House she showed me in the basement of the building, many kettles in which soup was made by a special soup maker from Boston. She asked everyone in Hull House district to come and have a pail full of soup for 5c instead of beer. Also she asked the restaurant keepers in her neighborhood to come and have the same kind of soup, that they might serve it in the cheap restaurants to the poor working girls who were engaged in stores and shops.

Not a bronze statue but a building should be erected in front of Hull House and at the top of the building should be in electric lights: *"Peace on earth, good will to men."* That will be the most fitting monument to that most "dangerous woman."

I was at a meeting of Congregational ministers of the State of Illinois at Oak Park where I secured the names of the officers for the petition to be sent to the State Department in Washington, to have a new citizenship convention with Turkey to protect the honor and respect of American citizenship, as repudiated by the Sultan. After I finished my two-minute remarks, Jane Addams was called by the presiding officer of the meeting to speak about Hull House. She described what she was doing for the unruly population from different countries living in Hull House district. After she finished her description eight "ministers" jumped to their feet and asked her in an antagonistic manner, "Are you sending any children to Sunday school?" She replied: "That is not my work; it is the work of the missions connected with the churches. My work is Social Service uplift in Hull House locality." One of the "ministers" said, "That is a devil's work" and scorned her in that manner.

Her body lay in state in front of Hull House for a whole day. Men and women of many nationalities, with tears in their eyes, passed by. She is not dead—her influence will live forever.

As every one knows, she was the first person who visited the great Christian nations in Europe before and after the World War, asking for peace among each other. She was the first President of the Peace Con-

gress at The Hague. Such a woman as she was, to be called the most "dangerous woman!"

I sincerely hope someone with great means may erect a building in her memory in front of Hull House and I hope the Director of the building may be Graham Taylor, who is in the same spirit for the improvement of social life among the unruly people in Chicago. He is the one who built a community center for that very purpose as Jane Addams did.

What a wonderful change of mind in the clergy. A few years ago they called her a very "dangerous woman." Now they claim she is a member of the Congregational Church. I hope some day she may be canonized as the French Paris priests did Joan of Arc. In the Public Square and after many years they erected a most beautiful monument of her on a white horse in the same spot where she was burned as if she were a witch.

But Jane Addams does not need any horseback monument. She will live forever in the minds of the people she benefited by elevating them from their unspeakable social conditions.

H. D. GARABEDYAN.
Grace Hospital, Detroit, Michigan.

An Opportunity

Editor of UNITY:

Please afford me a small space in your valuable paper for the following:

Because I am a Unitarian and all round liberal thinker, an unknown Unitarian lady, friend in America, has been sending me her copy of UNITY after reading it, as I am not able to subscribe for it.

Apparently she is unable to continue favoring me. I should be grateful to any one in your country who would take her place by sending me his or her copy of UNITY after reading it. I am like a live fish out of water, without UNITY.

DAVID S. HENNESSY.
Saint Thomas City, Saint Thomas, V. I.

The Field

(*Continued from Page* 22)

seven years. Their families have been left practically destitute.

The young wife of the editor of these pamphlets, known personally to us, has taken it upon herself to care for these families. She is regularly visiting them and taking to them all the relief she can. Sometimes she is able to get into touch with the men in the concentration camps. She is running a very great risk, but is absolutely fearless and nothing will persuade her to think of her own safety. She has been in England recently, but has now gone back to her work. We feel we must render all the financial help we can. It is all we can do.

Further, the International is assisting many German pacifist friends who are exiled from their country, as well as those who are still inside Germany, including some who are in concentration camps. We have received information from a reliable source that there is a good chance of obtaining the release of two members, one in the Lichtenburg and another in Papenburg-Esterwege, if we can provide the money necessary for their defence. A lawyer friend who has already been successful in securing the release of one of our members, is willing to undertake these other two cases for a greatly reduced fee, but we need 500 marks for this purpose alone (approx. £40 or $200). There are many others we wish to help in a similar way.

Russia

In a far-away village there is a small Community of our people. The local military authorities want to mobilize their horses for military needs, but the Community have refused to lend their horses. They are waiting for what will happen next.

At night they sit round a little table on wooden benches and read "The War Resister." They only have one copy of each number in Russian. That copy gives them courage as they read of our comrades in other countries who are standing so bravely. Then they will read letters, written just before their death, from some of their own countrymen who were shot thirteen years ago for refusing military service. The memory gives them strength.

Another group have already been deported to the northern part of Siberia. They had refused to register their Community, viewing the registration law as many Englishmen viewed the registration law of 1915, as the first step to military conscription.

It was a strange scene, when the authorities with 38 carts arrived at two o'clock in the afternoon. The whole Community were told to pack their belongings and be ready to leave that night. Slowly the work proceeded —friends from all around came to bid them farewell. At last they were ready and in the biting wind and the fast-falling snow the long caravan began to wind its way to the little station. Here they camped for the night, and together sang their hymns and psalms. In the morning, those who followed them have to leave and the train moves off—Whither?

Poland

In a small house in a little Polish village a man sits at an old typewriter. He is translating "The War Resister" into Russian. This is how our Russian friends were able to learn of what was going on in the rest of the world. In his home is the record of the Polish prisoners—one has just been released. During the entire period of his imprisonment (three years), he has been ill with consumption which finally became so acute that he was sent to the military hospital at Posen. There he was frequently called to the cabinet of the military chiefs of the hospital and asked if he would perform his military duties should he be sent back to his regiment.

To this question, the young lad replied, "I have lost much of my health with you and I am ready to lose all, but I cannot perform the service you wish to force me to do." Sincerity found its reward for the doctor replied, "We will not punish you with prison any more, for what good will it do us if you stay in prison and become still more ill? Perhaps I will release you. I am so sorry for you, dear boy." After a few days he was released and allowed to go to his home.

So we see one spark of humanity and recognition of the truth that is hidden deep in every soul, can break through the thickest military uniform. The determined, unflinching stand of the war resister is beginning to tell.

There are, however, still many other war resisters in Poland being sentenced and resentenced to many years' imprisonment.

Bulgaria

Glaveev, a young working man, was ordered to report for service. Although he had strong conscientious convictions that it was wrong to become a soldier, he yielded to his mother's entreaty and went. After two months' life in the barracks he decided he could no longer continue as a soldier and escaped back to his home town, where he remained for another two months. But his conscience troubled him and he informed the Bulgarian authorities of what he had done. He was arrested and imprisoned for another two months. On liberation, fearing a second and longer term of imprisonment, he fled to Greece. He had no papers—was arrested by the Greek authorities and imprisoned. He was transferred to an island in the Mediterranean Sea. Later the Greek authorities transported him to Turkey. Here he was arrested by the Turkish authorities and imprisoned, but on his release, only to be handed back to Greece where he was kept in a military prison. The War Resisters' International intervened and secured his release and permission for him to remain and work in Greece, although he was confined to one particular town. Finding no way of earning a livelihood and with help from friends, he migrated to France where Bulgarian friends were waiting to receive him. But in France he was again arrested and imprisoned for many months because he had not the necessary papers. Once more the International intervened and obtained permission for him to remain in France as a political emigrant.

Again with freedom and the possibility of working secured, Glaveev has broken down physically under the strain of the past years. He has been in hospital several times with fever and has just been taken again with typhoid. He has no one to care for him. Our responsibility is great.

France

Militarism is becoming more and more powerful in France and war resisters are being more severely punished. Here are but two cases:—

Gerard Vidal is serving a sentence of two years' imprisonment for refusal of military training. In the course of his trial he made the following declaration:

"In October, I returned an order, recalling me to the colours, to the Minister for War and explained why I refused to become a soldier. As an absolute pacifist, I do not think one can talk of peace seriously when one is in uniform and is bearing arms. With me, it is not a question of "ideas" or "convictions," but one of fact. I am a pacifist, and consequently refuse to collaborate in the preparations for any war for whatever cause. The military uniform is one of the symbols of war; so I refuse to wear it. I do not deceive myself; prison is my fate, and I shall accept it. I may be broken, but I shall not be used. . . I think that accepting military service in peace time amounts to the same as accepting it in war. I think that in the present regime, to maintain armies is inevitably to will war—the provisional solution of the economic crisis. . . Let us disarm first—the other nations will follow.

Deep - thinking philosophers, Hegelians and others, seated in deep armchairs, have delighted to prove that the "instinct for violence" is innate in man, but what they have not said is that one can dominate one's instincts and use them. As for myself, I know well that I shall never kill, so I have no need to learn to manage a firearm. I am not troubled about the sentence I shall receive; I accept one judge only—my conscience."

Philippe Vernier is a young Protestant pastor, at one time secretary of the French Student Christian Movement. He is now serving a second sentence of imprisonment—this time one of two years. He is kept in solitary confinement in a cell 9 ft. x 6 ft. and is experiencing terrible conditions. He is allowed almost no visits (except from relatives) no books of interest (except his Bible and three other books he brought with him), no writing paper (except what is required for his allowance of two letters a week). Most of his post is destroyed. A careful selection of letters and prospective visitors is made, with the object of permitting the minimum possible amount of encouragement and the maximum of discouragement in his attitude. He is not allowed to work. In short, every attempt is being made to break his spirit.

Venezuela

"I have suffered too much in the last ten years to be afraid of suffering," writes a young doctor whom we have helped to leave Devil's Island, the French Penal Colony.

We had counselled him to consider his own safety, and with this retort he made us ashamed.

We have found him medical instruments and he practices as a doctor now, and is spreading the idea of war resistance among the mining community among whom he lives.

Japan

In the Far East our members also take their stand. Some months ago one of them started to openly organize a Peace Society. He called a first meeting and writes that among the hundred delegates who "dared" to attend, more than twenty were lawyers, and all these are in prison today.

In Latvia, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium and Finland are war resisters who are also paying the price for their fidelity to the principles for which our Movement stands.

This is why we ask your help. The claims upon us are pressing and the responsibility is heavy, especially upon those of us in the United States of America and in England where only in war-time are we subject to such persecution.

Please respond as quickly and as generously as you are able.

H. Runham Brown,
Hon. Secretary.

The War Resisters International.

P. S.—Your contribution may be sent either by Cheque, International Money Order or Currency Notes to:

The War Resisters' International 11, Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England.